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A Critic's Role

Criticism comes as second nature to a journal of opinion such as The Commonweal. Without voicing it continually this magazine would hardly get very far in interpreting the current scene. This would be true regardless of whatever irascibility, feelings of superiority, or disloyal sentiments unfriendly readers might ascribe to its various editors and contributors. And this journal's approach naturally includes both criticism of others and realistic scrutiny of our own ways and institutions.

The tendency to question the way things are going on the national scene, and to take issue with various American policies toward foreign peoples, is doubtless less pronounced when it has to deal with the errors or inadequacies involved in wholehearted efforts to break out along new paths. Criticism tends to become more pronounced in our pages when we feel that Washington seems more intent on giving reassurances than on alerting the citizenry to the challenges confronting the nation in this divided world.

Where Catholics as Catholics are concerned, the problem of criticism is obviously more delicate. Discussion seems to take on a more personal character. For one thing, the sacrifices entailed in establishing and maintaining Catholic institutions make them particularly sensitive to criticism. Yet there is a growing realization in recent years of the extent to which self-criticism serves as an important preliminary to better things.

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THE COMMONWEAL

232 Madison Avenue, New York 16, N.Y.

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THE COMMONWEAL

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS, LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

Religious Liberty and the Church

WERE IT NOT for the likelihood of a conciliar statement on the question of religious liberty during the next session of Vatican II, there might be some good reasons to ignore the problem altogether. For American Catholics these reasons could appear compelling. With the election of John F. Kennedy to the Presidency, it seemed apparent that the long effort of American Catholics to prove their full loyalty to American constitutional principles had borne a final and decisive fruit. By now, there are few responsible non-Catholics willing to argue that Catholicism or a Catholic President poses any danger to American religious liberty or the separation of Church and State.

There were a number of Catholic arguments which served to convince them. There was the *prima facie* historical evidence that numerous Catholics throughout the nation's history have served the country faithfully and well. There were the repeated statements by American bishops that, should Catholics ever become the majority, they would not even consider attempting to change any jot or tittle of the Constitution. There were the persuasive arguments of numerous Catholic theologians and publicists that the practice of such countries as Spain and some Latin American nations should not be taken to represent the Church's ideal norm for every nation.

In addition, there was the work of a man like Father John Courtney Murray, S.J., who convincingly argued that past magisterial strictures against the separation of Church and State had to be understood in their historical setting and could not be taken as applicable to the form of religious pluralism which has developed in this country. Finally, there was the evidence supplied by Dr. A. F. Carrillo De Albornoz (in his World Council of Churches pamphlet *Roman Catholicism and Religious Liberty*) and others that the emerging consensus among Catholic theologians was toward a rejection of the "thesis-hypothesis" theory of religious liberty which had dominated much Catholic thought since Pio Nono's *Syllabus of Errors.*

Taken together, the cumulative force of such a varied array of arguments was hard to deny. All but the most hide-bound worriers about papal machinations were convinced that further objections were senseless. Mr. Kennedy was elected; for all practical purposes the question of Catholic loyalty died a quick death.

GIVEN this situation, a triumphant one for American Catholics, what good can be served by re-opening the argument? In particular, since non-Catholics have by and large ceased to worry, why should Catholics wish for any further clarification of their Church's teaching on religious liberty? There are many reasons, including the strong probability that, just below the surface, many non-Catholic misgivings still remain. But the most important is that Catholics have yet to produce the one decisive, incontrovertible argument necessary to establish a Catholic commitment to religious liberty the world over: a formally-promulgated doctrine affirming religious liberty to be an essential part of the immutable teaching of the Church.

The necessity of such a doctrine becomes clear when one considers that none of the arguments described above, however successful they may have been in comforting non-Catholics, is sufficient to put the compatibility of Catholicism and American pluralism beyond all doubt. Taken together, they indicate, to borrow Cardinal Newman's phrase, only a "converging probability" of such a compatibility—but no more.

Let us observe why this is the case. First, whatever can be said about past and present Catholic loyalty to the Constitution, it cannot serve to guarantee the loyalty of future generations. Second, however sincere the statements of the bishops, they

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are not the equivalent of solemn magisterial pronouncements. No regional or national body of bishops has the right to commit the universal magisterium of the Church to an indefinite support of its local decisions and promises. Third, as long as the Church allows in some nations a favored position for Catholicism, it remains conceivable (however improbable) that it could allow it in all.

Fourth, if the present generation of theologians can argue successfully that past (embarrassing) pronouncements on religious liberty were conditioned by historical circumstances which no longer apply, then it is conceivable that some future generation could overthrow the work of contemporary theologians on the ground that it too was historically conditioned. Fifth, however many theologians one can find who reject the "thesis-hypothesis" theory of religious liberty, there has been no decisive conciliar or papal pronouncement supporting this rejection. Strictly speaking, it remains only a theological opinion, one neither affirmed nor denied by the Church.

But are not these objections mere quibbles? We do not believe that they are. In one sense, to be sure, they are hardly sufficient to justify any present or immediate fear of Catholics. They are only speculative difficulties, bearing little relationship to the present reality of American Catholic loyalty to the Constitution and to religious liberty. That they are speculative does not, however, make them unimportant. For in the deepest sense, they bear directly on the Church's role as a defender and supporter of human liberty.

For how long will the American Church—and the Church in every nation—be forced to bear the burden of suspicion created by the nineteenth-century Catholic thought on religious liberty? For how long will American Catholics have to rely upon only a "converging probability" that their position is a doctrinally sound one? For how long will the American bishops be forced, at regular intervals, to defend the Church against charges of an indifference to American freedom? For how long will Catholics be forced to rely upon the ingenuity of their theologians to produce, from the ore of a century of ambiguous papal teachings, some nuggets of magisterial commitment to religious liberty? For how long will Catholics be forced to explain away the Church's toleration of a favored status for Catholicism in Spain and the regular discrimination against Protestants in Italy, Spain and other countries?

The time is well past when Catholics can afford to be satisfied with the indecisiveness of past pronouncements on religious liberty. It is absolutely vital that the Church be on record, in a way that Catholics all over the world cannot contravene, as a firm supporter of religious liberty. This can only be done by a pronouncement which grounds religious liberty in the nature of man, in faith as a free gift of God.

Next Week

MICHAEL NOVAK writes, in the Education Issue, about Catholics on secular campuses: "It is almost impossible to account for the incredibly meager aid which the American Church is giving her half-million sons and daughters on secular campuses. It is almost as if they simply were not there. . . . Four out of five, some 400,000 Catholic students—one-third more again than those in all Catholic colleges together—have no contact with the Church on campus."

Katanga at Bay

SINCE LAST receiving comment in these pages, the situation in Katanga has rapidly deteriorated. At that time it was still possible to hope for a negotiated settlement between Moise Tshombe's secessionist province and the Congolese Central Government of Cyrille Adoula. Since then, however, United Nations troops have started an armed advance to force Tshombe's cooperation that appears to be a final assault. U Thant has observed, ominously, that "it is now too late for talk." Sooner or later, however, there must be talks; the only question is how much blood will be allowed to flow before they begin.

As usual, the question of who started the present war, the third in fifteen months, is open to dispute. The U.N. claims that Katangese troops shot down one of their helicopters; and the Katangese, in turn, claim that the helicopter had "provocatively" entered their territory. At any rate, the eighteen thousand U.N. troops were obviously prepared to engage in a massive assault, as they quickly took the Katanga capitol, Elisabethville. They also took the key mining city of Jadotville without meeting any real resistance.

The elusive Mr. Tshombe himself took to the bush, threatening a "scorched earth" campaign centered around his last stronghold of Kolwezi, as a final, desperate measure. "We will resist by all means," he said, "including total destruction of all our economic potential." It is the last threat that is most ominous, since the Katangese "army" itself, demoralized and scattered, has been virtually eliminated as an effective fighting force. What amounts

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to a striking U.N. victory has, therefore, been a mixed blessing, practically forcing the Congo to the brink of economic disaster.

It is important not to minimize Tshombe's *ultima ratio*. For the mining complex of Katanga, the Union Miniere du Haut-Katanga, represents sixty per cent of the Congo's revenues. It also accounts for sixty per cent of the West's uranium supply, as well as seventy-three per cent of the world's cobalt and eight per cent of its copper. The mining interests are largely owned by joint Anglo-Belgian companies, a fact which largely accounts for those nations' serious reservations about the U.N.'s military operations in Katanga.

Before Tshombe succeeds in wrecking Katanga's mining operations "for an indefinite period" (he has already directed the blowing-up of a crucial power plant), Britain can be expected to put pressure on U Thant to grant Tshombe safe-passage to Elizabethville for final talks. In view of the very real danger of Mr. Tshombe's pursuing a "desperate policy," it is to be hoped that Mr. Thant will in fact relent a little on this matter.

For all of the bloodshed and incidental atrocities (the latest of which was the tragic machine-gunning of two Belgian women), the U.N.'s latest drive must still be defended against those who brand it as "naked aggression" or as a "new imperialism." For all of their intelligence and moral energy, critics like Sen. Thomas J. Dodd of Connecticut miss the point when they talk of the latest U.N. drive as "an unspeakable tragedy" or as "establishing an extremely dangerous precedent."

For when such a person says that he "believes profoundly in the desirability of a reunified Congo," he cannot justly criticize the U.N. for employing the means to attain that end. As to the "dangerous precedent," it was already established in Korea. The U.N. has not and does not now seek to interfere directly in the internal political affairs of any nation. The U.N. is in the Congo, it must be emphasized, at the request of the Central Government, to help achieve a stable regime. On Mr. Thant's word, "it has no other purpose there and will move in no other directions."

There is still hope for averting both further bloodshed and the collapse of Katanga's mining operations. That hope lies in the temporary cease-fire, the reasonableness of Mr. Tshombe and the further word of the Secretary-General that it is his intention "to persevere in the effort to achieve implementation of the plan of national reconciliation." It is indeed time to act, time for Mr. Thant to invite and time for Mr. Tshombe to come to the conference table. The Congo may yet be rescued from the possibly disastrous effects of an all-out Katanga war.

Jobs and Automation

THE EXTENT to which the dimensions of the national economy and the American work force are changing is not adequately realized. For example, there is the shift in blue-collar and white-collar employment since 1947. In the manufacturing industries, clerical and management employees have increased by nearly two-thirds, while production workers have decreased by seven per cent. Both figures should be measured against the sizable increase in population in fifteen years.

Another analysis points to similar trends in this country during the past decade. Employment in the professions and related services has increased by nearly three-fifths; in finance, insurance and real estate by two-fifths, and in government employment by more than one-quarter. Coal mining, with a fifty-six per cent decrease, leads the list of occupations with declining job rolls, with agriculture and railroading not far behind. It is estimated that as many as nine out of ten of the boys and girls now growing up on American farms will have to find non-agricultural occupations. The pattern is rather clearly defined.

One of the main issues of the East Coast's longshoremen's strike supplies the latest evidence. The New York Shipping Association contends that with the latest equipment dock work gangs of seventeen men can handle the tasks presently assigned to twenty. On the West Coast, shippers are putting up a five-million dollar fund to minimize hardships from reduced employment, while the union has agreed to eliminate "make-work" practices and to cooperate on mechanization.

John I. Snyder, manufacturer of automating equipment and co-chairman of the Foundation on Automation and Employment, says there are four widely-held "myths" about automation. The *Christian Science Monitor* quotes him to the effect that automation does not create jobs, but that it eliminates them, directly or indirectly; that actually it is most difficult to retrain those who are displaced, because of their age or lack of education and the scarcity of new jobs; that the manufacture and maintenance of this new equipment in fact creates few new job opportunities; that the workers' problem is hardly to be solved by their moving to another part of the country, as few of them are up to making a fresh start elsewhere.

There is more and more talk about compensating for automation. President Kennedy declares that we should accept "scientific and technical progress as beneficial to the entire human community" but calls for "programs which will reduce to a minimum the cost in human values." David A. Morse of the In-

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ternational Labor Organization (I.L.O.) says that this "is a community responsibility. It is a government responsibility. It is a responsibility of employers and trade unions."

American business in general is undoubtedly slow in acknowledging its responsibilities, but otherwise there is wide agreement that something must be done. But what would constitute a truly effective program? This underlines the importance of the preparatory work now beginning for a major I.L.O. conference on automation and employment to be held in 1964. When most people in the world live in a state of deprivation, it makes little sense to hold back means of increasing production; yet transition arrangements have to be set up and in the long run opportunities for gainful employment should be widened not narrowed as a result.

Brazilian Plebiscite

BRAZIL has, as always, her own special brand of troubles. These are, apparently, mostly of an economic sort, though they are aggravated by a certain indecision concerning the office of President Joao Goulart. A plebiscite on January 6 was designed to let the nation decide whether it wants to continue the present "strong parliamentary" system of government (which Goulart claims has "tied his hands" in achieving necessary reforms) or to return to the former system of a powerful executive. A conspiracy of factors in Goulart's favor strongly suggest, if they do not ensure, a decision to restore the powers which he claims to be essential. So complex are the problems behind this plebiscite, however, that even a decision to keep the present parliamentary setup need not foreshadow Goulart's downfall; that all depends upon how he would choose to interpret such a vote. The results of the vote should not, however, be allowed to obscure Brazil's real problems, which are chiefly economic and social.

An Historic Conference

ONE HUNDRED years ago this January the Emancipation Proclamation was signed. Since then, it has been a document for our judgment, rather than the charter of liberty that it was intended to be. An historic and major effort to put its doctrines into practice will be represented this January by the first meeting, in Chicago, of the National Conference on Religion and Race. At this historic conference over eight hundred lay and religious leaders who will be representing all of the major faiths in the United States will consider ways in which religion and religious teaching can best serve the ends of interracial justice and love.

The nation can expect that concrete proposals will be forthcoming from this conference. They will be welcome indeed, since they can be expected to have the firm resolve of action behind them. As the brilliant young Negro writer, James Baldwin, observed recently, "if we . . . do not falter in our duty now, we may be able, handful that we are, to end the racial nightmare, and achieve our country, and change the history of the world." The Chicago conference is a good pledge that we shall not falter in our determined effort to achieve a nation. For it we offer cheers and every encouragement.

Prospects for Collective Bargaining

WHAT'S AHEAD for collective bargaining in 1963? Much, of course, depends on the state of the economy. No one knows for sure yet just what will be the effect on our present economic doldrums of the fading Cuban crisis or of the distant drums of war now beating along the China-India frontier. Overcapacity, seemingly, will absorb expected increases in civilian and government demand. So most economists are standing by the predictions of Walter Heller, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisors, who still sees the first half of 1963 as a "testing period." The economy, says Heller, either could catch its "second wind" and experience "some quickening of the economic-pulse" if the world crisis prompts some added government and private spending, or the country could slip into a "mild recession."

Perhaps the only certainty available to us in the labor-management area at the moment is the re-opener clause in the steel industry's collective bargaining contracts, which permits the union to ask for increases in wages and benefits after July 31, 1963. Any significant collective bargaining breakthrough this summer will set a pattern for key auto talks due in 1964 and for bargaining generally over the next few years.

The strategy of the United Steelworkers is clear enough. The union will make a bid for a substantial wage hike and bow out with a significant cut in working time for its members in the nation's steel mills. (If the economy should perk up and the cost-of-living with it, the union may go all-out for both.) USW president David J. McDonald has already stolen a march on his AFL-CIO colleagues in the recent can industry settle-

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ment. That agreement provides for extended three-month paid leaves every five years for employees with fifteen or more years of service. Longer regular vacations and higher terminal payments to encourage early retirement were also secured. If Mr. McDonald can nail down the same terms in next summer's steel talks, he will have set the pattern for shortening work time for some time to come.

The proposed Kaiser Steel and USW pact, incorporating a "shared savings" program, may give McDonald additional leverage for bargaining this summer with the major producers. Whether the union will put forth the Kaiser plan for serious bargaining this year seems unlikely. The union may prefer to wait until 1964 after it has had a chance to evaluate the success of the new split on savings in labor costs. Nonetheless, it will serve as a talking point.

But David McDonald may run into some unexpected trouble. Recent remarks by the two men who carried the ball for the steel industry during the 1960 and 1962 negotiations—R. Conrad Cooper and R. Heath Larry, executive and administrative vice presidents of U.S. Steel respectively—indicate that the industry is thinking of a startling, if not downright revolutionary, change in collective bargaining. These remarks, in the end, may be no more than whistling air from badly punctured trial balloons. For the moment, however, they do put into question the future of national, pattern-setting bargaining.

SINCE World War II, American industries have moved, at widely differing pace, towards industry-wide bargaining. The railroads, for example, last month took a long step in this direction, setting up a National Railway Labor Conference to develop a unified labor policy for the nation's rail carriers. Teamster president James R. Hoffa has been driving to the same terminal for the trucking industry. Auto and steel have long since been striking national bargains, whose effects ripple throughout the multitudinous agreements struck by labor and management in any given year.

Technically, of course, the steel union bargains separately with each individual company; in fact, negotiations take place between top union officials and a committee representing the nation's top twelve steel producers. With major points settled, the union then sits down with the individual companies to sign contracts and to work out the fine points which may vary from company to company, even from plant to plant, as far as that goes.

This has worked fairly well, despite periodic strikes. The union has managed to eliminate North-South wage differentials and, in general, placed its members throughout the industry on an equal footing. Steel producers have not had to worry about competitors securing any significant edge through lower wage costs. But now that competition is keener, markets are shrinking and the industry in the doldrums, steel management is apparently having second thoughts. There is talk of individual company negotiations, even of plant by plant negotiations. "There are companies in this industry," says a steel executive, "that just can't take *any* increase in costs."

U.S. Steelman Cooper puts the discussion on a loftier plane; he mentions neither his industry nor the Steelworkers' Union but the implications are clear enough. "Union tendencies," says Mr. Cooper, "to enforce uniform wages and benefit increases upon the many competing companies of an industry obviously pose unequal problems for the individual companies and plants." Massive union movements, he adds, "as now practiced are altogether incompatible with the solution of labor disputes in terms of the problems of the separate companies which are the heart of our free enterprise system."

R. Heath Larry asks the question: "Must unions, along with the public at large, re-analyze the problems inherent in the representation by one union of the employees of all the employers in a particular product market?" The answer, the steel industry seems to be saying, is yes. And the separate agreement with Kaiser may give the rest of the industry an opening wedge. For if the steel union can bargain separately with Kaiser why not with each of the others? The big question, however, is: Will the industry insist? Will it—can it—reverse the historical trend towards industry-wide, national bargaining?

One would appreciate a straightforward, "Yes, we are going to do our level best to break the pattern in our industry," instead of public-relations generalities about "massive union movements," when USW is meant. But the best we can do is to infer that Mr. Larry envisages a change in steel when he says that management must make an attempt "to form a judgment—*competitive unit by competitive unit*—as to whether the nature or magnitude of a wage or benefit program might tend to restrict employment in that unit or tend to encourage it." (Italics supplied.) Any lesser judgment would necessarily place Mr. Larry safely in the rear as he urges the troops forward.

Any serious attempt to carry out a judgment of this kind next summer could revolutionize collective bargaining in America. A breakaway from national bargaining in steel would have a tremendous impact on similar bargaining in all other major industries. It could upset the guidelines for bargaining set down by the Kennedy Administration. It would make a national wages policy impossible. It might open the way for new, unpredictable, experiments in bargaining. It might also be a disaster. THOMAS R. BROOKS

(Thomas R. Brooks, a former assistant labor editor of "Business Week," is now a free-lance writer.)

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Muslims, Black and White

JAMES BALDWIN's "Letter from a Region in My Mind" came out in the November 17 *New Yorker*, but people are still talking about it. And no wonder, either; Baldwin's piece is one of the most memorable ever written from inside the world of the Negro.

There is no use pretending the Negro's world is mine; it isn't. Once a Negro realizes that he is not white, and what this means in our society, his world becomes different. "I began to feel in the boys a curious, wary, bewildered despair, as though they were now settling in for the long, hard winter of life," Baldwin puts it.

It is hard to argue with the facts. A Negro, simply by virtue of that fact, is fighting the odds from the day he is born. His chances of a secure, happy childhood are less. His opportunity for a good education is restricted, North and South. His chances for a decent job even if he gets a good education are small. "In the same way that the girls were destined to gain as much weight as their mothers, the boys, it was clear, would rise no higher than their fathers," Baldwin writes. "School began to reveal itself, therefore, as a child's game that one could not win, and boys dropped out of school and went to work."

In short, the kind of home a Negro will live in, the kind of food he will eat, the kind of medical care he will receive, even the kind of burial he will receive, all are drastically affected by the color of his skin. "My friends were now 'downtown,' busy, as they put it, 'fighting the man.' They began to care less about the way they looked, the way they dressed, the things they did; presently, one found them in twos and threes and fours, in a hallway, sharing a jug of wine or a bottle of whiskey, talking, cursing, fighting, sometimes weeping: lost, and unable to say what it was that oppressed them, except that they knew it was 'the man' —the white man."

The Negro is an American, but his America is not mine, and what bothers people about James Baldwin, I think, is that he recognizes this fact and says so, bluntly. For believers in Christianity and democracy, the presence of the Negro minority represents a great challenge—one we have so far failed to meet squarely. This is a hard truth, and when Baldwin spells it out, it makes people nervous.

A good many people think of Baldwin as a Black Muslim. He is not, but he understands what makes Black Muslims what they are. "This world is white," he writes, "and they are black."

Black Muslims are, of course, racists. They make sense only in a society where there are too many White Muslims. Believing in black superiority, the Black Muslims represent an extreme reaction to a culture shaped by a belief in white superiority. "Neither civilized reason nor Christian love would cause any of those people to treat you as they presumably wanted to be treated; only the fear of your power to retaliate would cause them to do that, or seem to do it, which was (and is) good enough."

Estimates on the number of Black Muslims range as high as 100,000. This is probably exaggerated, but whatever their number, this much is certain: they number in their ranks thousands of American Negroes who have lost faith in democracy. "One did not have to be very bright to realize how little one could do to change one's situation; one did not have to be abnormally sensitive to be worn down to a cutting edge by the incessant and gratuitous humiliation and danger one encountered every working day, all day long."

Nor are men like Baldwin any more kindly disposed to Christianity. "It is not too much to say that whoever wishes to become a truly moral human being . . . must first divorce himself from all the prohibitions, crimes and hypocrisies of the Christian church. If the concept of God has any validity or any use, it can only be to make us larger, freer, and more loving. If God cannot do this, then it is time we got rid of Him."

For a Christian, this does not make pleasant reading. It may be easy enough for us to dismiss even as many as 100,000 Black Muslims out of the total Negro population. But for every Negro who is actually a member of the Black Muslims there must be hundreds who have run head-on into white walls all their lives and who have, as a result, developed a definite sympathy for the various black nationalist movements. The American Negro is tired of moving toward freedom on the white man's timetable. When we ignore this truth, we are only kidding ourselves.

If I read James Baldwin right, this is part of what he is telling us. It is not too late, I hope, for us to begin to pay attention. JAMES O'GARA

POSTSCRIPT: In a column for the Christmas issue, which was written before the release of the Cuban prisoners, I cited the fact that the sixty men released some months ago had lost from forty to sixty-five pounds and "looked like nothing so much as survivors of Dachau or Buchenwald. Eyewitnesses say the men still in prison are as bad or worse off. . . ." As a number of readers have pointed out, now that the prisoners have been released, these "eyewitness" descriptions seem to have been exaggerated, and it seems only fair to note this fact, even though conditions in Castro's prisons were hardly humanitarian. Needless to say, I am glad the early reports were in error. J. O'G.

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A World Where Success Is Measurable by Power and Appropriations

Inner Space Race

JOHN HUNT

AN INNER space race is whirling around in the squirrel cage where Washington's bureaucrats run for a living. For the adversary agencies, the Air Force and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, the outer space race is, of course, important. But the agencies' officials are confined to a world where real success is most directly measurable by how much power and what appropriations you manage to obtain. Thus each of these competitors views victory over the other as Goal Number One, and while each also identifies success for itself with space victory over the Russians, neither is right unless coincidentally. The opportunities for waste and other forms of mischief are patent and sizable.

In the fairest of fairness possible in such a depressing context, it must be said that it is the Air Force, having outdistanced all previous Army and Navy competition, which is the aggressor in this newest inter-service rivalry. NASA is doing what it can to protect itself, and even making retaliatory motions, but few of the Washington observers think it stands a chance. Objective histories will show the Air Force to be by far the most successful of all government agencies—by the predatory definition of success stated above. The informed predictions are that the airmen, who already spend practically all the money appropriated on war missiles, will before too long also secure control of practically all the money used for space explorations. A decade hence, this remarkable organization, conceived since World War II and yet possessed of an old-fashioned belief in its own unlimited and manifest destiny, promises to possess the kind of power which goes with the control of thirty to forty billions a year.

While it would complete the cast of an ultra-modern morality play to present NASA as a hapless and innocent victim, this would hardly be just. For the Space Administration also connives; that is, it attempts to match the Air Force in in-fighting techniques. These techniques consist of domestic propaganda and lobbying, plus salesmanship sometimes as crass as that of a door-to-door brush salesman. The stakes in such a game are total, and so NASA, by agreeing to play, condemns itself to getting what it deserves.

As in any respectable Washington dispute, the one between the Air Force and NASA is officially described as being between "philosophies"—"philosophy" being the Capital's current favorite word for giving stature to a technology, a mere point of view or any statement, whether written or oral, in favor of self-interest. One "philosophy," espoused vigorously by President Eisenhower and officially by President Kennedy, at the insistence of the State Department, holds that U.S. rocketeering should be divided into two parts, to wit, war and "peace." The war missilery is considered useful for deterring the Russians and impressing the rest of the world with U.S. military strength. The "peace" part is supposed to show off American scientific genius as superior to that of the Russian, and also to demonstrate America's intention to build a better, brighter world with the new technologies and not just a more dangerous one.

By analogy, the distinction is like the one between the Atoms for Peace program and the tests of nuclear warheads. A tricky angle is that the same rockets are often used to propagandize both war-making ability and peaceful intention. The Atlas, for instance, is both the principal U.S. intercontinental missile and the Astronauts' orbital taxicab, while the shorter-range missile named Thor both sends aloft TV-and-telephone satellites and defends Europe against attack from the East. But, then, philosophers have long been known for their ability to make much of distinctions.

NASA IS the creature of this war-and-peace philosophy. But the Air Force is successfully peddling the line that the whole thing is schizophrenic balderdash. This "peaceful" space program is dilettantism—so the Air Force philosophy goes. Instead of orbiting the Mercury men to discover if they get sick to their stomachs and if they prefer chopped chicken liver or chipped beef while space-riding, we should be sending up the forerunners of future space fighter-pilots. Photos of Alan Shepard planting a flag on the moon might give

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us a thrill, but the digging of the first moon foxhole by a combat (Air Force) trooper would give us security. The space race is really a space war and we had better face up to this fact.

The interpretation of all NASA and Air Force activities in terms of tactics in their inter-service battle for the billions is guaranteed to be an engaging exercise. Some persistent detective work will be necessary, since the present Administration avoids permitting troubles within itself to show through. What is needed is a little education in the methodology of the Washington spacemen; out of deference to them, we may call it the philosophy they don't talk about. The key tenet is that anything is possible for a space salesman. The Administration and Congressional officials who sign the checks must keep their own propaganda mills churning, and they lack the means to evaluate the scientific claims made for the proposed space projects. Since these claims—for instance on a rocket's range and weight-lifting ability—can't be proved until the thing is actually built and tested, the salesman can hardly be faulted if he promised too much. Indeed, many changes in plans are taken for granted as research and development go on. Promises are never lies—they represent optimism and determination and even courage. Should the delays and extra costs get embarrassing, the Air Force will announce routinely that the original version of the rocket is being put aside in favor of a more "advanced" version, probably involving some "breakthrough."

Should this sound too cynical, let it be added at once that it is the patriotic duty of each man in these competing agencies to sell his agency. The detail that probably tells most about how pervading the atmosphere of high-pressure salesmanship has become on the space scene, is that the Air Force recently instructed contractors, when they submit some current project proposals (which the Air Force will use to sell the appropriations people), to restrict the documents to so many pages. One recent project was rated at 150 pages, but the limits will doubtless grow as the projects get more expensive.

Unfortunately for NASA, it is in a much weaker position than the Air Force when it comes to sending the space salesmen off on their rounds. For one thing, the Air Force is insatiable, But more important, Air Force and NASA are engaged in a new version of one of Washington's oldest battles, the one over whether government projects should be developed in government arsenals or by private industry. As it happened, NASA was initially established with government-owned facilities. Indeed, NASA rose from the ashes of a previous Air Force victory: the one over the Army, which had brought the German rocketeers to this country after World War II. And was doing some fine space work until the comparatively unimaginative soldiers, decimated by Air Force attacks, found themselves stripped of practically all space assignments. Possessing arsenals, NASA favors the arsenal system, and has recently been asking for more direct control, and less contractor control, over NASA properties and projects.

In contrast, the Air Force farms out, quite literally, the planning, programing, developing and testing of its rocket work on defense as well as space. It is little known that the Air Force doesn't develop or build rockets; it lets contracts. In this regard, the Air Force operates like a broker who buys and sells ideas and technology. There is hardly any wonder about this, since the Air Force never did luck into possession of a scientific staff of its own, as NASA did. Thus, the airmen have on their side all the salesmanship the contractors can provide, inspired by their natural enmity toward the arsenal system. And it doesn't hurt the Air Force's cause at all when one of its drummers points out to a Congressman that the airmen plan to pump some hundreds of millions into a company in the legislator's district. The least that can be said is that the Air Force and most of the aerospace industry are highly articulate and have such vital interests in common that they're thicker than thieves.

FROM ITS inception, the space rivalry has been marked by some fantastic and often funny fakery—and, naturally enough, the fantasies, the fun and the fakes reach new peaks now that the contestants have been honed down to two. A likely *modus operandi* in tracking the NASA—Air Force rivalry is to believe half the claimed successes and none of the stories about failures. Just to consider a few examples:

When Astronaut Scott Carpenter went into the Atlantic far from any ship or base, NASA showed its shock by committing the crime that was hardest to forgive. For endless minutes it said nothing about the man's fate. NASA knows that, given one big error, the Air Force will attack.

Within recent years, an observer has been able to find some stunning claims about how an Air Force rocket named Thor, based in Europe, scares the Russians with its accuracy. But what is this thing called Thor? In adaptation it was the rocket that repeatedly fizzled when the Atomic Energy Commission attempted to detonate a high-level nuclear blast over the Pacific. It was also the rocket—again in adaptation—that lofted the "switchboard" satellite for A.T.&T. and NASA. The space agency, lacking a rocket of its own for the communications job, did everything it could think of to make sure that the word "Thor" was never used, but that all the writers would say "Delta" instead.

A postscript to the Thor story is that it might well be worth shedding a tear of fury each time this rocket flops—for it was once pitted in competition, as the Air Force entry, against the Jupiter. The latter, an Army

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product, was designed at Huntsville as a 1,500-mile war missile, but a version was rigged specifically to send a package into orbit. For months, the Army showed off Jupiter—for instance, by sending one of these rockets more than 3,000 miles down the Atlantic, and with such accuracy that President Eisenhower was later able to produce the nose cone on TV. The military commanders at Huntsville had to give specific orders to the Jupiter builders, it is reliably reported, that under no circumstances should they fuel the Jupiter's fourth stage on these test flights. If they had, an orbit would almost certainly have been achieved, most likely before Sputnik. Finally, this super-successful Army rocket was matched against the Thor, which had hardly been built, let alone tested and perfected. Propelled by Air Force salesmanship, Thor won, and Jupiter has passed from the space scene.

And then there is the incredible story of the Centaur —almost a fairy-tale. This rocket came about when governmental commanders were convinced—by the Air Force—that the country couldn't wait for NASA to develop such giant space-exploration rockets as Saturn, which will have more weight-lifting ability than anything the Russians have presented so far. Based on the Atlas, Centaur would plug the time gap; in the official terminology, Centaur was termed "vital" to the space program.

But there was a catch: it had no clear military use; this, under the official space "philosophy," meant it had to be assigned to NASA. This was done, but with the proviso, which the Air Force was able to sell, that actual management should be done by the Air Force. Lacking managers, as explained earlier, the Air Force assigned the deal to its pet contractor, General Dynamics/Astronautics. As a peripheral detail, the Centaur was to orbit a satellite for use in military communications. Development of this package was assigned to the Army. It was almost like throwing a whipped dog a small bone, since the Army had long since been stripped of virtually all other space assignments.

INVESTIGATING Congressmen now charge that the Air Force and G.D./A. followed an astonishing course in building Centaur. The agency and the company, in the middle of the outer space race, worked casually and slowly, the investigators report. All the stress was put on the Atlas—a G.D./A. missile built for the Air Force itself. In time, the delays became so severe that management of the Centaur was taken from the Air Force and given to NASA. For once, the Air Force didn't complain, and NASA should have been warned accordingly.

For within weeks the investigation began—and it was NASA that was stuck with the blame. Its own officials were hard-pressed to dig their way out of this hole, since they hadn't wanted Centaur in the first place. Meanwhile, the Pentagon decided that Centaur was so far behind schedule, and that its weight-lifting capacity was turning out to be so much less than expected, that the communications-satellite project should be "reconsidered." Under reconsideration, the satellite assignment was taken from the Army and given to—the Air Force. With a failure of its own, the Air Force thus managed to get the ashes of criticism heaped on its new rival, NASA, and tweak the nose of its late rival, the Army.

As if all this weren't enough, an Air Force Atlas, being tested by General Dynamics/Astronautics, exploded with such violence that it irreparably damaged the Centaur NASA was desperately trying to get into shape for flight. As you might have guessed, it was the only Centaur NASA had even close to completion, after an expenditure of $350 million.

But aren't such mistakes inevitable in any program involving so many billions? The two-part answer is: (1) indubitably, but (2) the "philosophy" of the inevitability of error is a bureaucratic commonplace for reciting on days when errors have been found out and so is hardly likely to do much for civilian morale depressed by doubts about where the missile money goes. The view of some observers is that the space program was jerry-built, or, perhaps more accurately, was slapped together as were so many of the emergency agencies and programs during the wars. In those beginning years, when the government had more hopes than rocket power, the official and understandable "philosophy" was that competition among the services was a good thing, since it would impel all services to do their best, and even better than that. At that time, the Air Force loudly supported the competition principle, and joined in opposing proposals that a new Missile Agency, on the style of the Atomic Energy Commission, should be set up.

But now, as a matter of hard fact, the competition is over. Two missile agencies exist, with clearly defined responsibilities—the Air Force in full charge of the war work, NASA running the scientific show. Each minute these agencies spend trying to get at each other's throat is a disaster of sorts—for they can only hurt each other, not the Russians. Unfortunately, no one has ever been able to convince the Air Force of these facts. But then the Air Force organization, most spirited and high-powered in government, has from its beginning been operated on the conviction that the first purpose of existence is to grow, and has done it so successfully as to make its rivals feel fortunate to survive.

Let me give one final case history. It involves the recent Disney movie "Moon Pilot," supposed to be a comical story of the first moon journey. Moon exploration is, by official decree, NASA's responsibility, but the Air Force managed to wangle itself into the movie deal,

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and, eventually, all services, Air Force, NASA, Army and Navy, were supposed to be cooperating with the studio. The joint effort soon became a race. The Air Force soon forged far ahead. As usual, it had an aggressive information officer on the scene in Hollywood. He was able to provide Disney executives VIP treatment at a missile launching at the Air Force's Vandenberg Base. Finally, the officer popped the big question. Why shouldn't all the officers shown in the movie be presented as Air Force officers? Walt Disney agreed, and all the actors were dressed in Air Force blue. In that sense, anyway, "Moon Pilot" was futuristic.

At the United Nations

Sanctions and South Africa

STEPHANIE GERVIS

EARLY IN November, the United Nations ended ten years of condemnation without instrumentation in the area of racism—on paper. By a vote of sixty-seven to sixteen, with twenty-three abstentions, the General Assembly passed an Afro-Asian resolution not only condemning the Republic of South Africa for its policy of apartheid, but recommending sanctions and, if necessary, expulsion of South Africa from the U.N. for continued refusal to abandon its official separation of the races. The key to the probable effectiveness of the resolution, however, is not how many voted for it, but who did and who did not.

Three of the sixteen who did not were the United States, Britain and France. Even the Africans admit that whether they have actually succeeded in adding any bite to the U.N.'s annual bark of protest against apartheid depends on the participation of the Western powers in the recommended sanctions: the breaking off of diplomatic relations with the government of South Africa, the prohibition by each state of the entry of South African ships into its ports and of its ships into South African ports, a boycott of all South African goods and restraint from exporting goods, "including all arms and ammunition" to South Africa, and the refusal by each state of landing and passage facilities to aircraft which belong to the South African government or to companies which are registered under the laws of South Africa.

Although the Western "big three," plus Greece, Ireland, Japan, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, Australia, Belgium, Canada, and, of course, South Africa voted against the resolution, an unsuspecting democrat would naturally assume that, with the obvious exception of South Africa, the dissenters would go along with the majority. Ironically enough, the very democracies that taught the Africans the principle of majority rule are now about to instruct them in the art of breaking it, because there is little doubt on either side that those who did not vote for the resolution will not implement it—or at least not the paragraphs on sanctions.

Every nation that spoke on the subject in the U.N. joined in the condemnation of South Africa, but those who dissented, those who abstained, and even some of those who voted for the resolution as a whole questioned both the wisdom and the efficacy of sanctions and the threat of expulsion. Had the Africans allowed a paragraph-by-paragraph vote on the resolution they would have won on the sections deploring apartheid, the provision for a U.N. watchdog committee to "keep the racial policies of the Government of the Republic of South Africa under review," and probably on the request that member states "inform the next session of the General Assembly" of what they have done to dissuade the South African government from "pursuing its policies of apartheid." The fate of the sanction and expulsion paragraphs, however, would have been doubtful. Since for the Africans these last were the really significant sections of the resolution, they pushed for a vote on the draft as a whole and won.

ONE OF THE leaders in the fight for the resolution, J. E. Jantuah of Ghana, summed up the African sentiment when he told the Special Political Committee that while all delegations agreed in denouncing the policy of apartheid, not all of them had the honesty and the courage to take the steps really necessary in order to eradicate it.

Speaking for the anti-sanction forces in the Special Political Committee debate, U.S. Ambassador Francis T. P. Plimpton asked whether the passage of a resolution recommending sanctions would bring about the practical result sought. "We do not believe," he answered, "this would bring us closer to our objective—

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the abandonment of apartheid in South Africa. . . . The hard fact is that in answer to such a resolution sanctions would be applied only partially, feebly, and ineffectually. . . . What would be the impact on the United Nations and its members of the adoption of such a resolution, unimplemented by many members? For one thing, bitterness might arise between members as to who is and who is not fully complying with the resolution, with a resulting unfortunate disunion which would benefit only South African apartheid. But more important, the adoption of a sanctions resolution which would not be fully implemented and which would not achieve the desired result would seriously weaken the authority of the United Nations, debase the effectiveness of its resolutions and generally impair its reputation." Britain's representative, Colin Crowe, echoed these sentiments.

The opposition further maintained that a boycott would hurt those it was trying to help by undermining South Africa's economy and thereby depriving the colored masses of jobs. It also argued that sanctions in general would only unite the political forces within South Africa against the threat from without, with the result that the liberals there would be suppressed more brutally than ever.

There is a question as to the legality of the sanctions. For under the United Nations Charter intervening in a country's internal affairs is justified only if those affairs are threatening the peace of the world. The British and other opponents of sanctions, however, take the position that although apartheid in South Africa has produced sufficient outside repercussions to warrant discussion by the U.N., the situation has not yet reached a point where international peace is actually threatened or where sanctions would be justified.

The argument against the expulsion of South Africa from the U.N. was advanced more on grounds of prudence than of legality. Article six of the Charter clearly states that "a member of the United Nations which has persistently violated the principles contained in the present Charter may be expelled from the organization by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council." There is little question that South Africa has "persistently violated" those sections of the Charter that provide for "universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion." Despite this violation and despite the Africans' insistence that their request was for temporary expulsion and was included only as a last resort, the opposition would not be moved.

THE OPPONENTS of prescribed, collective sanctions supported the U.S. alternative that "each member state can and should take measures which, given its particular circumstances, will be most effective to bring about the result that we all desire." Mr. Plimpton noted that the United States, in addition to official representations to the South African government on its racist policies, was prohibiting the sale to that country of arms which could be used to enforce apartheid. A Britisher admitted privately, however, that his government is unlikely to resort to anything more than moral suasion.

The Africans' response to all of this is that behind the arguments of legality, morality, and practicality there lurks a more compelling but unadmitted reason for the West's opposition to sanctions, namely, its own economic involvement, particularly that of the British, in South Africa. While neither the Americans nor the British deny that economic self-interest was a factor in their deliberations, they still maintain that the other reasons they presented in the debate were at least equally important.

The West's opposition to sanctions and expulsion came as no surprise to the Africans. Why, then, expecting Western resistance and knowing that the sanctions would be worthless without American and British compliance, did the Africans press for such a resolution? For one thing, it is a matter of intense pride with them —the persistence of apartheid in South Africa is a living insult to every black nation on the continent. For another, the Africans are tired of being put off with empty condemnations. Whether or not they could get action, the time had come they felt, to call for it. That the Western powers, although they deplore apartheid, oppose sanctions out of self-interest is no reason, say the Africans, that the U.N. should not at least be on record as having recommended that remedy.

One African delegate also pointed out that, at regional conferences prior to this year's Assembly session, the African countries had passed resolutions of their own calling for U.N. sanctions against South Africa. They were, therefore, previously committed to push for them at the U.N. Another African delegate asked with a wry smile how he and his colleagues could take it upon themselves to assume that the United States and Britain would refuse to comply with a resolution passed by the majority. Furthermore, he wanted to know, how could the Western powers expect the Africans to accept the argument that the resolution should not be passed because it would be unworkable and that the reason it would not work is that the West would refuse to implement it?

Yet that, in effect, is what the situation boils down to. The Africans have won a victory for the record only, and the South Africans know it. Following the passage of the resolution Dr. Verwoerd stated publicly that it was a meaningless gesture, because the Americans and the British would not implement the sanctions. So, with no more than another ritual resolution duly recorded, the question is: what next? Some call for patience, some for pressure, and others pray for a political upheaval within South Africa. No one really knows.

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Report on the Council—I

A Triumph for Renewal

GREGORY BAUM

LOOKING BACK over the first session of the Council, one is filled with wonder and gratitude. Thanks be to God, the Lord and Redeemer of His Church! In an unpredictable fashion, beyond the expectations of many, the Council determined its approach to contemporary problems in a courageous and original manner.

The result of the voting during the last days was amazing and almost incomprehensible. Despite the considerable opposition at the beginning, all but fourteen Fathers voted in favor of a document on the liturgy which, while guarding the unity, will once and for all destroy the uniformity of the Roman rite. In some mysterious fashion a Council is more than the sum of the bishops making it up. Views and attitudes which single bishops would hesitate to express when alone in their dioceses may well be approved by the bishops in common, relying on the Spirit present in their midst.

In an article summing up the first session of the Council, it is not out of place to express the debt of gratitude which the Church owes to her bishops. They were marvelous. They were willing to listen and to study questions with an open mind. They took to heart the speeches made at the Council. They were content to go to lectures in the afternoon, or at night, to hear episcopal or priest theologians discuss the conciliar issues. They were glad to read the reports and commentaries which were circulated. And they were ready to admit that the conciliar experience had changed their outlook profoundly.

We must be grateful to the bishops on many counts. Life was not easy for them at Rome. In their own homes they were, after all, important people living in congenial surroundings with offices and secretarial help. In Rome they lacked these conveniences. They had no files for their letters, no desks for their books, no reference library. If they were fortunate enough to have a double room, they could pile their papers on the other bed. They were patient getting into their school buses and patient being driven through the overcrowded streets of medieval Rome. And all the time they grew in their concern for the universal Church.

Measured in the terms of Catholic renewal, the first session of the Vatican Council was a surprising success. The tide of the new movement was much greater than expected. After the twenty-first of November, the day on which the schema on the sources of revelation was sent back to be reformed, it was clear to the participants of the Council that the progressive party was in the majority.

What subject was to be discussed after this event? The documents contained in the first volume and prepared by the theological commission were acknowledged as too one-sided statements of Catholic teaching. They could not be presented to the Council. The schema on mass communications seemed innocuous enough, and so it was on the question of radio and television that the Fathers of the Council found again their unity. While the principles proposed were approved by the majority without difficulty, it was felt that the subject matter did not warrant a conciliar decree. The work of the commission was to be honored by an extra-conciliar publication of its conclusions.

The next schema to be proposed to the Council was a document on Christian unity, elaborated by the commission on Eastern Churches. The purpose of the document was a practical one. It was addressed to the Orthodox Churches affirming the common bond between us, our faith, our sacramental life, our doctrinal tradition. Its purpose was to overcome the reticence among Catholics in regard to Orthodox Christians and declare that these are not dangerous schismatics to be avoided but Christian brethren separated from us, for whose reconciliation with us we must yearn and labor. The document also wished to declare, with sincerity and humility, the involvement of the Western Church in the guilt of separation.

THE DISCUSSION of the schema revealed that the vast majority of the Fathers were deeply concerned with the ecumenical movement and willing to do all they could, in fidelity to their Catholic tradition, to further the cause of Christian unity. At the same time, the subject of ecumenism was still so new that many bishops did not fully understand what, in the areas of doctrine and discipline, Catholics could do for the sake of Christian reconciliation. As someone has said so well, the bishops on the whole were psychologically prepared for ecumenism, but not yet theologically prepared.

Some bishops, however, were under the impression

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that to be ecumenical meant to be silent about certain aspects of the Catholic faith—the special place of the Blessed Virgin Mary or the sacrificial aspect of the Eucharist, for instance—which are particularly displeasing to separated Christians. They suspected that ecumenism implied compromise or silence in regard to doctrine. They had to be told that Catholic ecumenism is not a diplomatic technique of covering over the harsh points of the Church's teaching in order to make it more attractive to others. To be ecumenical in the realm of doctrine means to present Catholic teaching in such a balanced fashion, faithful to its Biblical basis, free from polemical over-emphasis, and in harmony with the whole of the Catholic tradition, that the common ground between us and separated Christians is extended, that they may recognize in us the features of the Church in which the New Testament teaches them to believe.

The subject of ecumenism was also studied in a chapter of the large schema on the Church and in a document prepared by the Secretariat of Christian Unity. While the Fathers of the Council expressed their general approval of the document on unity between East and West, they asked that the document be returned to the commission and that a single document on ecumenism be elaborated which would contain the substance of the three previous documents dealing with this subject.

Toward the end of the Council a new volume of documents was distributed among the Fathers, containing the large schema on the Church and a short document on the Blessed Virgin Mary. According to a press report, Cardinal Ottaviani proposed that the Fathers not discuss the question of the Church, since this would divide them, but instead deal with the theology of our Lady, since she would be a center of unity. The bishops, on the other hand, desired that the schema on the Church be brought to the floor so that they could publicly register their criticisms and observations. They hoped that the document would then be reformed in the period between the sessions and made to express the conviction of the majority.

From the press reports it appears that the criticisms were many. The document on the Church was regarded as too one-sided, based exclusively on the most recent Roman teaching, omitting the wider perspectives of the ancient Greek and Latin traditions. It was criticized for not being sufficiently influenced by the renewal of Catholic ecclesiology of the last two generations. Modern ecclesiology tries to understand the Church, not so much in terms of its hierarchy and their jurisdiction, but rather as the people of God endowed with the gifts of the Lord, among which the ministry of the apostolic hierarchy has its place. Though the bishops praised the authors of the schema for their diligent work, they did not hesitate to put their fingers on the deficiencies.

But what would happen during the period between sessions? Would the remarks of the bishops lead to the emendation of the document? Or would the authors of the first schema see to it that the document remained substantially unchanged?

Pope John solved this problem on December 5. He published the directives for the work between the two periods of the Council. In a document read to the Fathers at the assembly and distributed to them the next day, Pope John repeated the aim and purpose of the Council. He emphasized that his speech at the opening of the Council, on October 11, was intended to lay down the guiding principles for the conciliar work. This remarkable, and even daring, speech in which the Pope had aligned himself with the forces of renewal in the Church in a most singular way, was now declared to be the norm for all the schemas of the Council.

In particular, Pope John quoted the already famous passage from his own speech which distinguishes between the doctrine of the Church and the manner of proclaiming it. The role of the Council is not to define Catholic doctrine, but to find a way of announcing Catholic teaching so that it will be more meaningful to Catholics, more transparent to Christians separated from us, and more comprehensible to men outside the Church.

In the directives published on December 5 the Pope demands that all schemata be returned to the commissions and, with the help of special mixed commissions, be revised according to the norms set down by him and the wishes expressed by the Fathers of the Council. In order that this work will proceed properly and that the commissions will collaborate among themselves, the Pope established a new coordinating committee. This committee is the guarantee that the revision will be carried out in the spirit of the majority and that the forces in Rome opposing the movement of renewal will not be able to undo the achievement of the first session.

THE reformed schemata, according to the directives of the Pope, are to be sent to the bishops of the world through the presidents of the episcopal conferences. This, again, is a most significant change. No longer will the papal delegate be the mediator between the See of Rome and the bishops of the Church; this mediation will take place through the presidents of bodies which unite the bishops of a country. This step elevates episcopal conferences to the status of intermediary organs between the bishops and the Pope—even before this subject has come up for discussion at the Council and new elements are introduced into the legal structure of the Church.

The publication of these papal directives, which protected the principles of the majority and limited the powers of the Roman Curia, created a peculiar climate of joy and gratitude during the last few days of the

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Council. If the first session is a guide to what the future of the Council will bring, we have every reason to be confident. True, there remains an element of the unpredictable in every Council, and hence it is possible that the present trend could be reversed in the second session. But time is on the side of the majority. If the bishops of the Church make use of this period by reading and studying the issues of the Council, they will discover that the creative theological writing produced over the last twenty-five years is in profound harmony with the perennial Catholic tradition, even though it may differ considerably from many of the schematized formulas which they had learned at the seminary.

The conflict at the Council is not at all between men who try to introduce new insights and modern ways and those who seek to remain faithful to the great tradition of the past. It is rather between those who seek to renew the life of the Church by returning to the most authentic Catholic tradition of all ages and those who seek to consecrate as eternal Catholic wisdom the theology of the manuals of the turn of the century and the anti-modernist emphasis which penetrated them.

Report on the Council—II

Eclipse of the Curia

GUNNAR D. KUMLIEN

A SUPERFICIAL observer of the Council in Rome might well be baffled by the results of the two first months. Even the participants in the Council admit that practically nothing on the original agenda has been accomplished, that most of the enormous amount of preparatory work has to be reassessed and that the opposition between the two major groups has been such that the next session has had to be postponed to next September in order to allow the factions to cool off. Finally, the Pope's health is really not what it ought to be, and if there should be a new Pope before September, he is entitled, according to the constitution of the Church, to postpone the Council indefinitely.

Does this mean that the Council so far has been a failure? On the contrary, things have been achieved during the two months the Council has been in session, which none of its participants could have dreamt of only five years ago. It can already be affirmed, for instance, that a real revolution has taken place under the surface, a revolution with effects that nobody as yet is able to calculate. And this revolution was not the result of learned debates in Saint Peter's. It simply and slowly arose out of gatherings around theologians who were, until recently, considered very controversial, and around Protestant observers. The latter were heard and consulted to such an extent that it can be said that they have not only been observers, but participants, at least in an advisory capacity.

The revolution consists in this: a majority has slowly been crystallized out of the votes actually taken and, more important still, out of personal contacts between bishops. This majority has, so to speak, become conscious of itself by degrees. From a potential majority unaware of its actual size, it has become one very much aware of its strength, disciplined and above all anxious to use this unique opportunity without a loss of time, in order to keep up with the age we live in and to turn to the future.

The nucleus of this majority is and remains the Franco-German group. But one of its main supports has been that of the United States bishops, most of whom have joined, at least in principle, after having hesitated at the beginning. It is, naturally, a majority which varies from question to question and which has many dissenters among its national groups. Nevertheless, the majority is there, ready to exercise its influence.

THE dispossessed in this revolution are undoubtedly the members and supporters of the Roman Curia, with its Italian predominance and its traditionalist approach to the problems of the day. Even a real mobilization of the Italian bishops, proportionately more numerous than in any other country, has been of no avail, in spite of the fact that the Italian bishops by and large have proved to be loyal to the Curia. As one Italian bishop, who does not agree with the Curia, but nonetheless is loyal to it, said to me, the Curia still believes in power as an instrument of apostolate. Yet not even the support of the majority of the Spanish, Portuguese and South American bishops has been able to overbalance the scales.

The Curia, indeed, has not only been clinging to tra-

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dition and to power concepts; more fundamentally, it has also clung to the Counter-Reformation, to a line drawn up four hundred years ago by the Council of Trent. The Curia feels that its opponents are dangerously inconsistent with that line. Inconsistencies with it have been condemned in the past and majorities, the Curia points out, are not always right just because they are majorities. The Curia is resentful, too, over the fact that it has not only been fought during these last months, as it rarely has been in the past, but has actually been indicted and accused of inefficiency and narrowmindedness, of having a "ghetto spirit," and of lacking sympathy for the problems of the atomic age. It has been accused of having a spirit which is too parochial and exclusively Italian and, as if all this was not enough, of nepotism as well.

The new majority argues, on the other hand, that there is no lack of consistency in the line it is following. The history of the Church, their argument runs, is longer than the period which followed the Council of Trent, a period which was one of emergency, necessary in order to strengthen the Church after the tremendous loss it had suffered through the Reformation. This period has come to an end now, the argument continues, and a new one must begin, which may need to be more consistent with another age, with a time, or at least with aspects of a time, well before the Council of Trent.

RIGHT from the beginning it was clear that the Protestant world had an influence on this Council which went well beyond that of the Protestant observers. Then the strange thing happened—and the representatives of the Curia were quick to point it out—that is, in the accusations made by the majority against the Curia, echoes could be heard of the accusations once launched against Rome by Luther and the other reformers. Precisely this was one of the facts the Curia pointed out in order to show that the majority must be on a wrong path, that of making extreme concessions to the Protestants.

The reply from the other side could be simply indicated by a few quotations from one of its favorite theologians, Hans Küng, the Swiss Professor of fundamental theology in Tübingen and one of the "stars" of the first part of the Council: "were not many of the greatest saints precisely reformers? . . . What would have been the road of Martin Luther if he had been born into the Catholic Church of today? Would it with absolute certainty be the way out of it? . . . What the Protestants protest against in the Catholic Church has to be eliminated whenever this protest is justified . . . The Catholic Church is changing . . . and in the Protestant world a reform of the Reformation is taking place. . . ."

There is yet another revolutionary aspect of the Council, that is, the increased importance and autonomy of the bishops. It was quite a sight to watch all these bishops leave Saint Peter's after the morning session, thousands of them, of all sorts and colors and speaking all languages. It was truly an international elite, everyone marvelously different from every other and yet more closely knit, more homogeneous than any other international body on earth.

The compact mass of all these men gave a physical impression of something very important and very mighty, going far beyond the limited human capacities of each of them taken separately. The mere fact that they had all come to Rome and had been in contact with each other had created something new and unforeseen, almost as in a chemical change, where certain elements combine into something which is wholly different from each taken alone. All these men taken collectively are undoubtedly the descendants of the Apostles. And it was difficult not to think of the words of another of the Council's favorite theologians, the German Jesuit, Karl Rahner, when he argued that the highest authority in the Church is not the Pope, but the Pope in union with his bishops and as head of the bishops.

And the Pope? Here again something strange and difficult to explain seems to have happened. This old man, who reached near to the end of his life without previously showing anything of what he has since proved capable of doing, who was, after all, chosen as an "interim Pope," mainly expected to nominate new cardinals, surprised the world and continues to do so.

During the terrible stress of this first session of the Council, everybody could watch on the Pope's face the agonizing burden of responsibility and the physical pain of a rapidly declining health which could have caused the breakdown of a man in his best years. At the same time, his discreet and timely interventions during the first session of the Council and his dogged determination to carry on until results were reached, have caused the admiration even of those relatively uninterested in the Council. Everybody knows by now that even if Pope John should die before the Council is resumed in September and a new Pope is elected who is in favor of the Curia and who has the right to postpone the Council indefinitely, the new trend cannot be reversed.

In spite of his illness towards the end of the first session, Pope John appeared one Sunday morning, as he often does at his window above the square of Saint Peter's, in order to say a few words and to bless the crowd, which always gathers at a certain hour. Despite the fact that it was windy and cold, the crowd was bigger than usual, and John XXIII said a few words, so simple and warm, about the sorrows and pains we all have to carry until the end, just like an old and wise parish priest, that even hardened men bit their lips out of emotion.

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THE STAGE

Bert Lahr: the Cavalry Arrives

IF WE needed more evidence that there is almost nothing personal and serious that Broadway permits itself to do these days except comedy, "The Beauty Part" has come along to provide it. For the past several years it has been the comic endeavors to which have accrued nearly all power to rouse us from our apathy or cure our distaste: embattled comedy like "A Funny Thing" or "How to Succeed in Business," which thrusts against a wall of formula; strategic comedy such as that of "Virginia Woolf," deployed for the purpose of softening our defenses against the technically "serious" but ending as the serious itself; untrammeled comedy of which "Beyond the Fringe" is the current custodian and which is almost inevitably satiric in its nature.

"The Beauty Part" is cartoon comedy, which means among other things that its satiric velocity is curtailed and its virtues of personal statement and unbeholden spirit are considerably weakened by professional hi-jinks and a broadness of platform. But cartoons, like certain acrobats, are sometimes able to invest themselves with singularity and victorious élan—how many more revelatory, inspiriting commentators of any kind do we have than Steinberg?—and become unchallengeable works of the imagination. If "The Beauty Part" is by no means on that level, it still remains authentic, vivifying and, for the most part and within its limitations, secure.

Its limitations are largely those of its creator, S. J. Perelman, who is a superior cartoonist, but not a dramatic and especially not a visual one. That is to say, he sketches, intensifies and leaves out—the cartoonist's work—but his strength is verbal, he is a master of the hunt for cliché and pretentiousness of utterance, mocking our language in its windier reaches and our mores in their journalistic aspects, and holding up to us the broad mirror of our foolishness, our comic quest for seriousness. He has done little that has been effective in the theater, and the screen miracles in which he once played a part depended greatly for their radiance upon their execution by masters of another, more properly physical comic mode, the Marx Brothers.

But Perelman is once again given life by a clown who is capable of taking a deficient though honorable text and transmogrifying its essentially literary humor into something that can be seen, into a *performance*. Even more solidly and effulgently than "A Funny Thing" has existence around Zero Mostel, "The Beauty Part" takes its life from Bert Lahr.

Without him we would be left with a humor towards which we might feel grateful for its not being that of George Axelrod or Garson Kanin, for getting out of suburban bedrooms and into some insolence and bite, but it would be a case of making do. We aren't likely to be more than momentarily amused by a fable of our national hunger for self-expression, a parody of both fake High and genuine Middle Culture, whose characters gravely pronounce words like "empathize" and "sublimate" and "therapy," make collages out of "seaweed and graham crackers," do soap sculpture on a "Procter and Gamble fellowship," speak nostalgically of "halcyon days in the groves of academe," and when asked "how can you tell if you have the creative spark" retort: "if it sets fire to your pants."

Yet there stands Lahr, filling in the spaces between the gags, turning the radio humor towards the purposes of the stage, a preposterous seal whose colored ball never rolls away, a buffoon of absolute unconscious sureness, whose measureless brow is furrowed with unanswerable perplexity, whose eyes roll whitely towards the far corners of our absurd dilemma, from whose thick burlesque lips the indictment, "You're a matzoh ball" emerges with inexorable and overwhelming justice.

In this loosely strung-together series of skits, he plays a half-dozen roles, from a garbage disposal tycoon named Milo Leotard Allardyce DuPlessis Weatherwax (Perelman's penchant for parodic names—among others in "The Beauty Part" are Rob Roy Fruitwell, Vernon Equinox and April Monkshood—are fine for the printed page but not much help on the stage, since we cannot

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keep referring to our programs) to a lady pulp magazine editor called Hyacinth Beddoes Laffoon and a magnificently unscrupulous Hollywood agent named Harry Hubris.

In each case he lifts the material above its sketchy ambitions, bestowing upon it the unexpected and undomesticated, infusing it with antic palpability and kinetic force. But he is at his most unopposable as a judge who has become a television personality and whose smile into the camera is the hilarious epitome of all self-seeking pomposity everywhere, and even more impregnable as a chair-ridden, crotchety old millionaire with violent leanings toward John Birch. The episode is a masterpiece of timing and comic invention, and may profitably be compared with a very similar bit in "Little Me," one in which Sid Caesar's conscious, crafty, *comedian's* work looks even smaller than it really is next to Lahr's bottomless wide pool of clown's inspiration.

It remains to be said that he is not entirely alone, being supported by a generally good cast, whose outstanding members include Charlotte Rae and Alice Ghostly, but also that both he and Perelman are badly served by a director, Noel Willman, who doesn't seem to have grasped the fact that a cartoon is a cartoon, something all of a piece, something big and blown-up and full of light feet and unfinished gestures. Willman has kept the action under a heavy hand and nearly brought it to ruin in the interests of orderly "theatricality," but dear old Bert, a professional with an amateur's soul, keeps resurrecting it every time. (*At the Music Box*)

RICHARD GILMAN

THE SCREEN

The Lawrence Legend

HOWEVER else one may feel about "Lawrence of Arabia," one has to admit it's the most off-beat spectacle ever made. It is also one of the most beautiful movies ever made and one of the longest (four hours including an intermission). I'm not sure that all this beauty and lengthy movie-making are merited by T. E. Lawrence, its enigmatic hero. Ever since his exploits in World War I, when for two years he led the disorganized Arab tribes against the Turks, Lawrence has been a popular legend. And in more recent years, he has become the subject of a great deal of speculation and study, none of which has turned up a definitive answer. Perhaps there isn't any; perhaps Lawrence didn't understand himself and his motives; perhaps the whole story will never be known.

"Lawrence of Arabia" by no means attempts to tell the whole story. The film starts in England in 1935 with Lawrence speeding to his death on a motorcycle. After services for the widely-publicized hero, a few of the plot's characters give revealing opinions of the great one: Anthony Quayle as Colonel Brighton: "He was the most extraordinary man I ever knew"; Jack Hawkins as General Allenby: "I didn't know him well"; Arthur Kennedy as an American correspondent: "A shameless exhibitionist"; Donald Wolfit as General Murray: "He was a minor clerk on my staff." And then the rest of the film is a long, long flashback covering the years 1916 to 1918 in Arabia and showing how that "minor clerk" became a contradictory legend.

Claude Rains, in an odd but very well-played role as civilian head of the Arab Bureau and political adviser to Allenby, is able to persuade General Murray to lend map-maker Lawrence to the bureau. His job: to find Prince Feisal, who is heading the revolt against the Ottoman Empire, a project of great interest to the British. Lawrence finally tracks down Feisal, convinces him that Lawrence himself should lead the loosely organized Arab guerrillas, and then wins the esteem of both Arabs and British by crossing the desert and taking the Turkish port of Aqaba.

Greatly impressed, Allenby makes Lawrence a major and sends him back to help the Arab war for independence. Now practically adored by the Bedouins who call him El Aurens, Lawrence wears Arab robes, takes himself and his task seriously, pushes himself to the limit, leads one attack after the other in dynamiting Turkish trains. While scouting in Deraa, Lawrence is captured by the Turks, brutally tortured, sexually abused, and thrown out—a traumatic experience from which he never recovers. Many months later he resumes command of the Arab army at the insistence of his British superiors, sweeps to the north, ruthlessly and vengefully slaughtering Turks on the way, and triumphantly conquers Damascus before the British arrive. Although this is the goal of the Arab revolt, it proves a bitter victory for Lawrence because the bickering Arab tribes cannot unite, and the English take over in spite of their promises.

Under David Lean's excellent direction, all this is portrayed in lively cinematic terms with a sweep of excitement and adventure that keeps one on the edge of his chair throughout the picture's excessive running time. The cast is fine. Although Peter O'Toole is much too tall for the real five-foot-six Lawrence, whose diminutive stature may have had something to do with his extraordinary drive and obsession to prove himself, the blond Irish actor, a comparative newcomer to movies, has successfully caught Lawrence's flamboyance, energy, and sensitivity.

Sam Spiegel, who gave "Lawrence of Arabia" its first-rate production, wisely surrounded O'Toole with an outstanding cast of tried and proven actors—all male, no doubt in deference to Lawrence's antipathy toward women. With such a long list of good actors, it is dif-

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ficult to single out names, but special mention should be made, besides those referred to above, of Alec Guinness as the canny Prince Feisal who has no illusions about the English and can handle almost any situation, even an interview with the American reporter (Arthur Kennedy at his brassiest) who is determined to make copy of the Lawrence legend.

Anthony Quinn hams it up a bit as the tribal chief, Auda Abu Tayi, but the story can stand this kind of theatrics from time to time. José Ferrer is remarkably subdued as the Turkish Bey who lusts after Lawrence and has him flogged. Particularly striking is Omar Sharif, a handsome Egyptian actor who portrays Lawrence's warrior-friend, Ali, a tough fighter who has great respect for El Aurens, but deplores his bodyguards, a band of ruthless cut-throats, and is appalled when the god-like leader refuses to take any prisoners and slaughters the retreating Turks on the bloody road to Damascus.

"Lawrence of Arabia" makes no pretense about its hero—who is almost an anti-hero. Robert Bolt's well-written script does not emphasize Lawrence's faults and eccentricities, but neither does it hide them. And if, after watching this long film, you cannot decide whether Lawrence was a great leader, a frustrated artist, a vain charlatan, a psychopath only half-ashamed of his sadism and masochism, a poseur who swished in Arab costumes but had the endurance and fortitude of the hardiest of men—if you cannot decide about Lawrence, don't worry about it. The film presents the many sides of the many-sided man.

Producer Sam Spiegel said of his picture, "I'm not trying to resolve the legend, but to perpetuate it." He expects the viewer to make up his own mind. He also expects the viewer to come with some knowledge of Lawrence. I wish he had thrown in a few more dates and maps. And I wish he had shortened a few of the shots of Arabs on camel-back. But if you get tired of marching Bedouins, you can always look at the gorgeous scenery.

The film's biggest triumph is the magnificent color photography of Fred A. Young. Technicolor and Super-Panavision 70 show off the Jordanian desert sands and rock formations and skies above in such a way that they become as exciting as any of Lawrence's adventures. The camera indeed captures Lawrence's love for the desert. Like most things in connection with Lawrence, one can interpret either psychologically or literally his answer as to what attracts him personally to the desert: "It's clean." PHILIP T. HARTUNG

BOOKS

Rahner and Ratzinger on the Bishops and the Pope

The Episcopate and the Primacy. By Karl Rahner and Joseph Ratzinger. Herder and Herder. $2.25.

by James F. McCue

THE VATICAN Council stated that the Pope has immediate, ordinary episcopal power over the entire Church. It also maintained that the bishops are divinely instituted and that they stand in the place of the Apostles. How are these two statements to be reconciled? This is the question which Fathers Rahner and Ratzinger deal with in the three essays presented here. The question is not only a theoretical one. Until the two statements are seen in their correlation and mutual relevance there will be a danger—have we escaped it?—that the first will overshadow the second.

Each of the essays attempts to correlate the papal and episcopal offices from a different point of view. In the first, Karl Rahner distinguishes between the Church as eucharistic event and as universal institution. "Insofar as this church . . . is intended to be one, to that extent the primacy exists. Inasmuch as the same one and universal Church is intended to appear in particular places and precisely in this way to achieve its full consummation, namely, in the celebration of the Eucharist and the rest of the Sacraments, to this extent the episcopate exists of divine right."

Joseph Ratzinger, in the second essay, takes as his point of departure the idea of apostolic succession. Though his argument moves along lines different from Fr. Rahner's, his conclusions are similar. The guarantee of the bishops' Catholicity and apostolicity is communion with Rome; yet the very Catholicity of Rome requires that it respect and profit from the varied fulness of the other Sees.

In the third essay, Fr. Rahner analyzes the episcopal-papal relationship more directly. He argues that the supreme authority in the Church is vested in the episcopal college in union with and under the leadership of the pope. The episcopate cannot exist other than in union with the papacy; yet neither can the pope simply dispense with the episcopate, since it is precisely in his capacity as head of this body that he has his position in the universal Church.

Fr. Rahner argues that there is no single power belonging to one or all the bishops which can be reserved against papal jurisdiction. But this poses several problems. First, how can we guarantee that a pope will not systematically deprive all bishops of all their powers, and thus effectively put an end to the episcopate? To this Fr. Rahner answers that *we* cannot guarantee it. There is no legal device that would make such a development impossible. Ultimately we must trust that the Holy Spirit, guiding the Church, will not allow its basic structure to be destroyed.

Does this mean, then, that whatever is done is right? Fr. Rahner is emphatic: "The tacit view and consequent practice, according to which a disposition of an ecclesiastical su-

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perior is unobjectionable in every respect merely because it falls within his legal competence, should not prevail in the Church." We can set no legal limit to papal jurisdiction. This means that any act posited by a pope in virtue of his office is *ipso facto* recognizable as falling within his competence. It does *not* mean that every such act is morally good or that it is beneficial to the Church.

There can consequently be a right and a duty "to protest against the infraction of equity, of love, of the right of the individual, even where the legality of an act of ecclesiastical authority cannot be questioned." The bishops have a responsibility for the well-being of their churches and of the Church. They as well as the pope are responsible for seeing that the individuality of the local church not be needlessly sacrificed to uniformity, and that the variety of the local church somehow enrich the universal Church. Fr. Rahner gives no simple directives on how this is to be done. His point is that the responsibility is there and that all involved must search for ways of fulfilling it.

The views expressed in this book are not those of the "average Catholic." Neither, it is my impression, are they the operative views of most priests and members of the hierarchy. The future of the Church will therefore be greatly affected by the degree to which these ideas gain ground among us.

Ill-at-ease in Zion

Israeli Stories. Edited by Joel Blocker. Introduction by Robert Alter. Schocken. $3.95.

by Anita Feldman

THIS VOLUME of short stories by contemporary Israeli writers reminded me of a poem by Delmore Schwartz which quotes Pascal's sentence, "True eloquence mocks eloquence," and goes on to say, "Eloquence laughs at rhetoric,/Is ill at ease in Zion." Writing in a language in which it is probably difficult to avoid a certain gratuitous eloquence, living in a country in which the pressures toward rhetoric are admittedly difficult to ignore, the writers represented in this book are acquainted, even in Zion, with that unease which seems inseparable from the experience of Jews, and which has had a large part in creating the most memorable expressions of their experience.

For some of these writers, like Hazaz and Megged, the source of unease is, paradoxically, the break in the continuity of Jewish life represented by the establishment of a Jewish homeland. Sometimes it springs from their relationship to history, sometimes from the ironies of war and the perplexities of politics, sometimes from the landscape itself, or from the language itself, of the new state.

The stories by the two representatives of the older, European-nurtured Hebrew literature, Hazaz and Agnon, seem to complement each other. In the vividly-realized story by Hazaz, a little, silent, almost forgotten man, Yudka, delivers a prepared statement to the rather bored central committee of his communal farm, a statement in which he questions, in the most radical terms, the continuity of Israel with all the two thousand years of Jewish life preceding its establishment. He asks about Jewish history—which he doesn't accept, on the plausible grounds that "we didn't make our own history, the goyim made it for us"—"What is there in it? Oppression, defamation, persecution, martyrdom. No glory or action, no heroes and conquerors, no rulers and masters of their fate."

Agnon's stories, which begin and end the collection, tell of lives in which all but the essential commitment, to sanctity in the first story, to knowledge in the second, is trivial, humble, painful, even repellent. But in their celebration of a purity of devotion which is almost painful in its intensity they seem to answer Yudka's question; their pathos transcends pathos and becomes a kind of heroism.

The other six stories are by younger writers born in Israel or brought up there. Two of them deal with war, one with a war that never quite happened, another with a situation reminiscent of that in Camus' story, *The Guest*. In the latter story by S. Yizhar, *The Prisoner*, the moral corrosion and brutalities of war are satirically counterpointed against its self-dramatizing rhetoric.

Yoram Kaniuk, the youngest of these writers (born in 1930) has a style which seems to suffer more than that of the others from the difficulties of translation. It is full of plays on words and sudden transitions, and is immediate and intense in quality. The story is told through the eyes of Yosef, whose youthful rebellion has taken the form of refusal to have a Bar Mitzvah ceremony upon reaching the age of thirteen. (He had hoped his parents would insist, but they did not insist.) His mother is a schoolteacher: he is in her class in school, and says: "Anyone in his own mother's class . . . can have no friends, can have nothing but the earth all about," and this situation embodies the predicament and the task of the newest generation of Israeli writers, those for whom "The Bible is all written, so are the poems of Bailik, even Shlonsky's. What is there left to write?," those for whom Israel is not a "land of milk and honey." As Yosef says, "Mother says our land is the land of milk and honey. But what do we say? Land of donkeys and asses. She speaks from her heart, we from our eyes. We were born here, without ideals; she came here on the wings of ideals. The question is, which is greater; the thing that is, or the thing that can become."

Orozco's Life

An Autobiography. By Jose Clemente Orozco. Translated by Robert C. Stephenson. University of Texas Press. $6.

by Richard C. Kostelanetz

ALTHOUGH first published in Mexico some two decades ago, the autobiography of Mexico's foremost muralist has just been translated into English. To those of us seriously interested in Clemente Orozco and his work, the book is a mite disappointing, precisely because he does not confront the important questions about himself and his art.

He never discloses, to make a short list, what motivates him to paint, the

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ideas he wishes to illustrate, any clues helpful in interpreting his paintings, his own relations with his contemporaries. Nor does he explain in detail how he conceives and executes a mural or mention the significant emotional experiences of his own life.

Instead, he tells us of the teachers he had and the artists he knew; and although he dogmatically states that art and politics do not mix, he spends too many words on his own political activities. Since he ends the story of his life ten years before the book was written, at a point after the Dartmouth murals of 1934, he never discusses his most important project, the frescoes in the public buildings of his home town, Guadalajara.

The prime reason for these omissions lies in Orozco's character. In contrast with the artist who sees self-expression as his *raison d'être,* Orozco is a modest craftsman. Unlike his fellow Mexican muralists Diego Rivera and David Alfaro Siqueiros, he capitalizes on neither his personal eccentricities nor his political activities.

The book and his paintings contain similar elements—the concise, blunt prose style parallels his brush strokes —and in neither do the personal problems of the artist himself explicitly emerge. Amid the encyclopedist's facts, the human being who seems absent from his art remains absent from his book. Although Orozco's modesty is a human virtue, it blocks the writing of significant autobiography. Still, the book contains enough prints and drawings to remind us of Orozco's achievement—he established a national style and sustained the avant-garde spirit in figurative painting.

Eastern Christians

The Orthodox Church. By John Meyendorff. Translated by John Chapin. Pantheon. $4.50.

by Thomas E. Bird

THE twentieth century has witnessed an extraordinary gain in general awareness of Eastern Christianity on the part of the West. Fifty years ago a half dozen French and English works by western scholars were available, but for the most part a parochially Latin approach prevented an accurate understanding of the ethos of this half of Christendom. But the Russian upheaval of 1917 and the subsequent revolutions throughout Eastern Europe have had the felicitous side effect of turning the West into a haven for many Orthodox theologians, and their studies have greatly added to our appreciation of the Eastern faith.

The fruit of this scholarship began to appear in western European languages as early as 1932 with the publication of S. Bulgakov's *The Orthodox Church.* Lossky's monumental *Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church* came out in the early 'forties and was followed by surveys of Orthodoxy by O. Clément, P. Evdokimov, I. Kologrivov, A. Schmemann, Metropolitan Seraphim, L. Uspensky, and N. Zernov. Each of their works analyzed the Orthodox Church from a different vantage point: hagiology, iconography, polity, liturgy or sacramental life. Of all of these perhaps none is as valuable an initiation into the whole question of Orthodox spirituality, doctrine, ecclesiology, and current status as Father Meyendorff's book. Published two years ago by Editions du Seuil, it is now available in English thanks to the translating skill of John Chapin.

The usual comment runs: "The author is particularly well qualified for the task he has set himself." In this instance, the *cliché* tells the tale perfectly. Father Meyendorff's protean endeavors as professor of Byzantine Church History and Greek at St. Sergius' Institute and Patristics at St. Vladimir's Seminary, in addition to his presidency of Syndesmos (the coordinating group for Orthodox youth throughout the world), means that he does not write out of a single national tradition or exclusively on the basis of research in journals, but brings to his writing a first-hand knowledge of the present world-wide situation.

Much specific data has been gleaned from a wide variety of sources, giving the reader an exceptionally up-to-date picture of world Orthodoxy. While not straying from his purpose of "providing the reader with a general introduction," Father Meyendorff has furnished an abundance of foot-noted suggestions on the outstanding *quaestiones disputatae* by Anglican, Orthodox, and Ro-

In the City of Wonder

I want a city forever April
or May perhaps but spring
surely, a city of almost
flowers and rain where
sunlight threatens, clouds
begin to anger turning to
storm but turn instead
to summer weather together
with buildings rising
like frightened sparrows,
barrows of mortar and water
and steel wheeled along
rickety gangways, highways
to heaven or the eleventh
floor, piles of brick
where cement thickens in
handsome blobs plopped
by bickering masons,
balloons bobbing in pudgy
hands of fudge colored girls
singing:
Hosannah in the highest
Blessed is He who comes
In the name of the Lord

JOHN L'HEUREUX

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man Catholic scholars in five languages.

Father Meyendorff deals with the highly inflammable question of the Orthodox diaspora with objectivity, but prefers not to become too involved. He chooses to omit any discussion of existing jurisdictional claims (e.g. Alexandrian), assigning all Orthodox "in exile" to the Patriarchate of Constantinople. Yet he does not avoid an examination of the national and theological tensions which have punctuated Orthodox history, his discussion of "Orthodox agony in the World Council" being of particularly wide interest. Roman Catholics especially will note his remarks about Uniate adhesions in Czechoslovakia and the Ukraine. One may hope, however, that future editions will include a presentation for western Christians of the concepts of "economy" and "akriveia" and will provide more detailed coverage of the courageous pilgrimage which the Western Rite Orthodox have made on the road to full acceptance within canonical Orthodoxy.

By way of an "examination of conscience," the author notes that the task facing Orthodoxy today is "to make a choice between mere human traditions and Revelation, and to retain only what constitutes the essence of the Christian message." Unlike Evdokimov who sees virtually total opposition between Catholic and Orthodox teaching, Father Meyendorff finds a considerable common patrimony, suggesting however that Orthodoxy has "preferred to remain faithful to patristic thought . . . (rather than) to identify itself with any particular synthesis of philosophical thought and Revelation such as the Scholastic system." He points out that neither sacramental nor ecclesiological "doctrine . . . were [ever] formulated" within the framework "of a given philosophical system," and comments candidly that the West, having "gone much further in these two directions than the East . . . has formulated . . . dogmas making any return to the past difficult."

His concluding chapter, which he guardedly calls an "outline [of] some of the essential traits of *an* Orthodox approach to the ecclesiological problem," sets out some hard sayings for Roman Catholic theologians, but his forthright presentation will be therapeutic in reminding us that the universal primacy of jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome was never generally recognized throughout Eastern Christendom.

Father Meyendorff gainsays none of the problems existing between the Christian Occident and Orient nor does he attempt to do other than convey traditional Orthodox teaching. Still, his abiding concern is irenic. In speaking of our mutual responsibility to seek unity, he says in a tone reminiscent of Pope John that "there must be an act of love as well as of humility."

"AS THE LEARNED *astronomers unravel the ciphers radioed from space they may find they know more about Venus than they do about their wives. But whether in science or art or love man cannot flee the irony of his condition; and so let us proceed with this science, and welcome the clarification of those cabalistic radiograms from the abyssal distances: 21, 5'6", 125, 35-24-36. . . .* "

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REVIEWERS

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The magazine is a relatively slim one. The advantage of size has been the editorial insistence on brevity — in the news briefs, in the several regular columns, and in the book reviews. What results is not a disappointment that something seems unfinished, but rather an admiration that one can learn a great deal in a short space. Even the pictures and occasional short stories seem to profit by the space limitations for they must make their points vertically, not horizontally; dramatically, not epically.

At 25 cents a copy Ave Maria is a bargain; a clear-cut rival to Time or Newsweek in timeliness, much better written and edited in the bargain, and of particular interest to alert Catholics. (J.G.M.)

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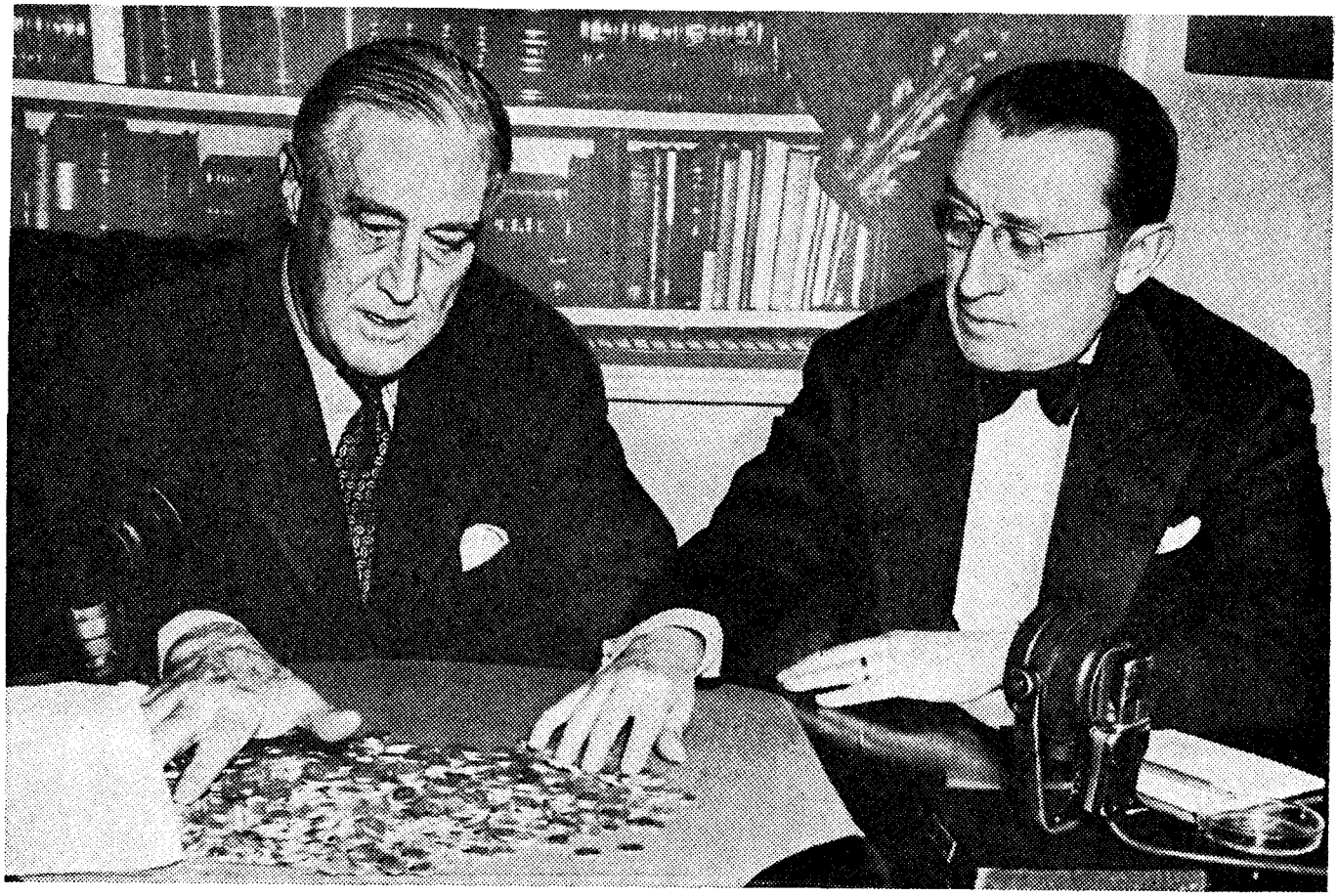

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